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ABSTRACT

As in England and Wales, there is no unified system for provision of adult education in Scotland. The various levels and types of postschool learning opportunity have emerged from a series of ad hoc arrangements and have been conditioned by local factors reflecting the characteristics of various Scottish religious, economic, legal, political, and educational institutions. The earliest attempts to organize adult education in Scotland can be traced to 1709 to the efforts of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that the organized and systematic provision of adult education began to emerge. In the later Victorian age technical education began to develop in response to the needs of manufacturers; however, there were still no national schemes for certification of journeymen. The period between the two world wars was marked by an increasing separation between technical and liberal adult education. Since World War II adult education in Scotland has been characterized by a gradual professionalization in many areas of adult educational practice, expansion and increasing heterogeneity of both vocational and nonvocational provision, further rationalization of vocational certification, and improved recognition of occupational qualifications. More recently, there has been a proliferation of experimental distance and modular learning systems. (MN)

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RADICALS AND RESPECTABLES

The Adult Education Experience in Scotland

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30 Rutland Square
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Cover by Ian Donnachie shows the title page from Hints to Mechanics, on Self-Education and Mutual Instruction (1839).

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INTRODUCTION

Adult education is an amorphous entity and in no country has it followed a single line of development. In Scotland, as in England and Wales, there is no unified system of provision. The various levels and types of post-school learning opportunity have emerged from a series of ad hoc arrangements having, until relatively recently, an obscure history. Adult education has been conditioned by local factors in which the unique characteristics of many Scottish institutions - religious, economic, legal and political, as well as educational - are reflected.

The definitive textbook history of Scottish adult education is still to be written. In a modest way, this brief study provides a general overview of historical developments and current provision, emphasizing distinctive Scottish features, notably the role of local government and the universities.

Although it may appear paradoxical in view of the recent declining enrolments in local authority non-vocational classes, the 1970s were in many respects a 'take-off' period for Scottish adult education. This period saw the publication of two major reports (Alexander and Carnegy), and the growth of 'community education' associated with them. It was also characterised by the emergence of the adult literacy movement, developments in open learning, and increased interest in the training of professional adult educators. The emergence of the Manpower Services Commission as a major national provider of vocational training has also occurred during the past ten years. Latterly, there has been a new focus on particular constituencies of adults for specific learning assistance, such as women, the unemployed, the retired, and the disabled.

These developments represent to some extent a convergence of views among adult educators throughout the United Kingdom on the social, personal and occupational value of continuing education in its many aspects. There remain, however, certain emphases which are more characteristic of Scotland than of the rest of the United Kingdom. This study therefore describes some of the major agencies in Scottish adult education, together with an indication of the scope of their operations, recent changes, and several projected developments. Finally, the annotated section on further reading points to the major sources of information - historical, statistical and organisational - for those wishing to extend their knowledge of particular aspects of adult education in Scotland.

Note: In order not to distract the reader with footnotes, specific sources of short quotations and statistics have been omitted. He/she is invited to pursue these through the section on further reading.

Chapter 1

THE GROWTH OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

Early instances of adult education

The earliest attempts to organise a form of adult education in Scotland can be traced to the efforts of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which began to establish small local lending libraries and reading classes from 1709, many of these in the Highlands. These so-called 'ambulatory schools' supplemented the work of local parish schools as providers of night classes for servants and others 'who could not leave their work in the day-time'.

The first involvement of the four Scottish universities came when an obligation was placed upon the Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University in 1727 to provide public lectures 'for the benefit of the manufacturers and artificers in Glasgow'.

From the 1740s itinerant lecturers in popular scientific subjects toured Scotland giving talks and demonstrations in natural history, optics and electricity to the middle and upper classes. These ventures were often commercial as much as educational; course subscriptions were usually one guinea, and advertisements for demonstrations frequently included notice of the sale of lecturers' goods or services. Such educational services, however, were beyond the reach of the working classes: the weekly wage of a farm labourer in Scotland around 1780 was 4 shillings per week.

In Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Philosophical Society (reconstituted as the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1783) was founded in 1739 as a gathering place for the country's intellectual elite and contributed significantly to the development of the Scottish Enlightenment. Two years later, a workingman's subscription library was established by and for Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire miners, probably the first organised attempt at workers' self-education in Scotland.

These instances hardly constitute a coherent provision of adult education. Whereas the Scottish system of parish and burgh schools almost certainly provided a superior childhood education for the average Scot compared to the average Englishmen, opportunities for the general education of the mass of adults were sparse.

The Early Nineteenth Century

It is not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that we begin to see the emergence of organised and systematic provision of adult education. This was associated initially with the name of George Birkbeck and the Mechanics' Institutes:

> Whilst discharging the duties of Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in Anderson's Institution, at

Glasgow, I had frequent opportunities of observing the intelligent curiosity of the 'unwashd artificers', to whose mechanical skill I was often obliged to have recourse; and on one occasion, in particular, my attention was arrested by the inquisitive countenances of a circle of operatives, who had crowded round a somewhat curious piece of mechanism, which had been constructed for me in their work-shop. I behald, through every disadvantage of circumstances and appearance, such strong indications of the existence of the unquenchable spirit, and such emanations from 'the heaven-lighted lamp of man', that the question was forced upon me - Why are these minds left without the means of obtaining that knowledgge which they so ardently desire; and why are the avenues to science barred against them, because they are poor? It was impossible not to determine that the obstacle should be removed; and I therefore resolved to offer them a gratuitous course of Elementary Philosophical Lectures. When the plan was matured, it was mentioned to some of the wise in their generation. They treated it as the dream of youthful enthusiasm, and scarcely condescended to bestow upon it a sneer, for it appeared to them so thoroughly visionary and absurd. They predicted, that if invited the mechanics would not come; that if they did come they would not listen; and if they did listen they would not comprehend. The offer however, was made; they came, they listened, and conquered; conquered that prejudice which would have consigned them to the dominion of interminable ignorance, and would have shut the gates of knowledge against a large and intelligent portion of mankind for ever.

I shall, during the next session, deliver a course of lectures upon the 'Mechanical Affections of solid and fluid Bodies', abounding with experiments, and conducted with the greatest simplicity of expression and familiarity of illustration, solely for persons engaged in the practical exercise of the mechanic arts; men whose situation in early life has precluded the possibility of acquiring even the smallest portion of scientific knowledge, and whose subsequent pursuits, not always affording more than is necessary for their own support and that of their dependent connections, have not enabled them to purchase that information which curiosity, too active for penury wholly to repress, or the prevailing bias of their natural genius might prompt them to obtain. I have become convinced that much pleasure would be communicated to the mechanic in the exercise of his art, and that the mental vacancy which follows a cessation from bodily toil would often be agreeably occupied by a few systematic philosophical ideas upon which, at his leisure, he might meditate. It must be acknowledged ,too, that greater satisfaction in the execution of machinery must be experienced, when the uses to which it may be applied, and the principles upon which it operates are well understood, than where the manual part alone is known, the artist remaining entirely ignorant of everything besides; indeed I have lately had frequent opportunities of observing with how much additional alacrity a piece of work has been

> undertaken when the circumstances were such as I have now stated. Perhaps to some it may appear that the advantages derivable from these lectures will be inconsiderable, or even that they will be disadvantageous, on account of the extent of the subjects which they embrace, and because those to whom they are addressed do not possess the means, or enjoy the opportunities calculated for engrafting upon the elementary truths they learn, the extensive researches of the illustrious philosophers, by whom the boundaries of science have been enlarged. Whatever the arrogance of learning may have advanced in condemnation of superficial knowledge, and however firmly I may be persuaded that the people cannot be profound, I have no hesitation in predicting that vast benefit will accrue to the community by every successful endeavour to diffuse the substance of great works which cannot be perused by the people at large, by making them reach the shop and the hamlet, and converting them from unproductive splendour to useful, though unobserved activity.

When Birkbeck, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Anderson's Institution, Glasgow, published this intention in 1800 to offer local artisans 'a gratuitous course of Elementary Philosophical Lectures', he was overwhelmed by the demand. The trustees of the Institution were sceptical, however, and Birkbeck received little administrative support for his lectures. After four years he resigned his post and moved to London.

But the idea of a 'Mechanics' Class' had been well sown among his students and his work at Anderson's was continued by Andrew Ure, adding a library which was managed by a committee of adult students. According to the historian of the Mechanics' Institutes, J. W. Hudson, the class 'was imparting a new spirit into the whole body of pupils, and opening to them the inexhaustible stores of a philosophy which should expand the intellect of the humblest member, investing him with new ideas and higher conceptions of the duties of man, and the unbounded goodness of his Creator.' Classes combined elements of vocationalism, leisure interests and moral improvement.

However, the political climate of the early 1800s was not propitious for the development of adult education other than for 'moral improvement'. Interest in the Mechanics' class at Anderson's declined between 1815 and 1820. But Birkbeck's ideas were taken up in other parts of Scotland. Thomas Dick, of Methven near Perth, organised science classes and a popular library in 1814 as the embryo of an intended scheme to establish 'literary and philosophical societies among the middling and lower ranks of the community'. Later, following the example set in Lanarkshire eighty years previously, workers from the Glasgow Gas Company established a Workmen's Library in 1821.

In the same year the first independent Mechanics' Institute was founded as the Edinburgh School of Arts (now Heriot-Watt University) in order to 'afford instruction to the labouring classes'. Courses of lectures were given on chemistry, mechanics, architecture, geometry and arithmetic, veterinary art, and farriery. The School was financed and controlled by 'leading citizens' and attracted almost 500 members

from 48 different trades in its first year. An important educational innovation in the teaching of adults was for student monitors to lead small classes of revision lectures.

Two years later, in 1823, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute was formed as an independent offshoot of Anderson's Institution, and Birkbeck was elected as Patron. The Institute differed from the Edinburgh School in being initially self-supporting through its 600 subscribers and democratically managed. Hudson notes importantly that:

> lthy and influential citizens of Glasgow, it should be continued without asking their support, and that such property as it might acquire should belong to the mechanics of Glasgow for ever. This resolution was indicative of the spirit which has but too frequently animated the working-men in their undertakings in recent times. Our social as well as our political history have abundantly proved that such an assumption of independence has rarely been sustained. The Glasgow Mechanics' Institution has followed the general rule in its recent career [i.e. to 1850] by not only being dependent on the assistance of the wealthy citizens of Glasgow for the building it occupies, but for their contributions from year to year to carry on the Institution with efficiency. . . . [However,] . . . in the year 1824 a greater number of the inhabitants of Glasgow were receiving scientific instruction than at any subsequent period (Emphasis added).

Hudson's strictures no doubt represent the concern of the middle class at the prospect of working men and women becoming too enthusiastic at the thought of self-improvement at a time of Chartist agitation.

Experiments in education for social welfare, linked to Robert Owen's views on the co-operative process of factory production in an emerging industrial age, expanded from New Lanark to Motherwell in the 1820s. A Chartist educational scheme was proposed for Edinburgh in 1839, and among the Chartist educational associations in Scotland in the 1840s were those at Partick, Glasgow; Coupar Angus, Dundee; and Aberdeen. Curriculae included reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography, and (at Dundee) politics and poetry. George Holyoake established an educational 'mission' in Glasgow in the 1840s to propagate the principles of co-operation.

The rapid indusrialisation of the Forth-Clyde valley increased the demand for a labour force educated for work and leisure, and the Institutes were the only bodies able, however partially, to serve this purpose, especially in the larger industrial towns of Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley and Kilmarnock. Between them, they supported 15 Institutes, whereas Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee could only muster a total of 5.

Mechanics' classes were most likely to attract skilled artisans of the 'better sort' and Hudson's survey reported a lack of encouragement of the 'lower classes'. In general, despite earlier promise, there was failure by 1850 to define the educational purposes of the Institutes, many of which had become merely places of general entertainment and

sociability. With regard to Scotland, Hudson stated that:

> The Scottish Mechanics' Institutions are less numerous and less effective than similar societies in England, owing to the practice of closing them entirely during the summer and autumn. From this cause the issues from the libraries are limited, the periodicals are deprived of half their interest, and the attractions of the newspaper are disregarded by members and committees.

The Mechanics' Institutes were formed in a spirit of independence and voluntarism and sometimes ran foul of establishment opinion. A special problem in Scotland was one of occasional Kirk hostility, whereas in England Institutes were largely run by nonconformists and ignored by the Church of England. Hudson cites this as a contributory cause of the 'lack of further advancement' of literary, scientific and artistic societies in Scotland and provides instances of management committees having to account to outraged clergymen in Perth, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Alongside their anti-establishment ethos there appeared an early example of 'positive discrimination' in the provision of adult education. In 1848 the Edinburgh Mechanics' Institution, founded by working men themselves and financed independently of the School of Arts, decided that ...'females should be admitted to all its privileges free , as the small pittance received by them as wages was inadequate to bear an expenditure for education.'

By 1850 Scotland supported 55 Mechanics' Institutes with over 12,500 subscribing members, compared to the 610 Institutes serving 102,000 members in England. According to Birkbeck, Scots were theoretically in a better position to benefit from the provision of adult education facilities, since they were more likely to have had a sound basic education in the parish schools. By mid-century, adults in Scotland were generally better educated than in England: as school-children they formed a higher percentage of the national population and the proportion of public to private schools was also higher north of the border.

There was also by now a tradition of adult learning in Scotland. More than one-tenth of Gaelic school pupils in the Highlands in 1849 were over twenty years of age, and, according to the 1851 census figures, 438 evening schools in Scotland catered for some 15,000 adult pupils.

Victorian and Edwardian developments

In later Victorian Scotland technical education developed according to the needs of manufacturers and the demands, where these could be secured, of their workers. It built upon the traditions established by the Mechanics' Institutes, many of which became in effect technical colleges; there were as yet, however, no national schemes of certification for journeymen.

Meanwhile, the momentum to develop a more general dult education by

way of the universities, which was being generated by the University Extension movement in England, was paradoxically absent in Scotland. Shearer has suggested that the major reason for this was that the four Scottish universities were already providing for a wider range of students and a more varied curriculum than their two English counterparts. Thus there was less demand in Scotland to 'extend' university facilities on an English model. The Argyll Commission reported in 1868 that in Scotland proportionately six times as many students received a university education, and ten times as many a secondary education. In 1866 one-fifth of all Scottish university students had working-class origins.

There were, nevertheless, some important developments in widening access to University education in Scotland. In the mid-1870s extension lectures were arranged by the University of St Andrews in Dundee. An Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association was formed in 1867 with a membership of 160 to which university professors gave courses of lectures in the arts and humanities, physical and biological sciences. The Association was the precursor of others in Glasgow and Aberdeen, both in 1877. St Andrews offered extension examinations for women, while in 1887 Patrick Geddes founded the Edinburgh Summer School of Art and Science.

Post-school education did not receive statutory recognition until the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, by which local authorities were allowed to levy rates to provide 'continuation classes'. These were mainly in vocational subjects, and the Act provided for the establishment of evening schools for those over the age of 13. A Code of Regulations for Continuing Education Classes was issued by the Scottish Education Department in 1901 which recognised the distinction between technical and non-vocational education for the first time.

The Education (Scotland) Act 1908 then placed an obligation on school boards to provide continuation classes which were required to include vocational courses. Although the Scottish Education Department review of 1909 reported that such education was 'sporadic and in a large part unsystematic', there was a significant growth in evening attendance in Edwardian Scotland, from 78,000 in 1901-2 to 127,000 in 1909-10.

Mid-Victorian improvements in printing technology and distribution, the rise of the popular press and the removal of the so-called 'taxes on knowledge' meant that there was a greater availability of learning materials for self-instruction. The publishing firm of William and Robert Chambers in Edinburgh began Chambers's Journal in 1832 and by mid-century this cheap magazine of popular history and domestic economy was read by all social classes. Their Encyclopaedia (1859-68) was an important reference source in many homes.

In Scotland, only Glasgow had a public library before 1850, although there were circulating libraries in the Lothians and Highlands. Subscription libraries were too expensive or specialised for most people. Under an Act of 1853, local ratepayers were allowed to apportion a 1d rate for public expenditure on books and an Act of 1894 extended the power of local authorities to spend money on libraries.

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Benefactions such as that of Carnegie in Dunfermline in 1881 also extended provision.

Although a good deal of adult education in its most general sense was thus taking place during this period, most adults remained untouched by any form of organised educational effort. Kelly has effectively argued that this was because the middle classes, who were by and large the providers, overestimated ordinary people's educational background but underestimated their intelligence - a view shared by William Chambers.

In Scotland, the Working Men's College movement which was born of the enthusiasm of Christian socialists in England, had little impact. At the end of the century, however, Scots began to play a prominent part in working class political education with the emergence of the labour movement and its quest for political power. In the 1880s, Keir Hardie had called for the formation of a Scottish Labour Party to 'educate the people politically'. Branches of the Scottish Land and Labour League held open-air political lectures in the mining villages of east and central Scotland which attracted large crowds in 1887. James Connolly of the Scottish Socialist Federation established discussion classes and workers' study groups in the 1890s that were the model for the Socialist Labour Party evening classes in the Glasgow engineering shops and Clydeside shipyards from 1904-20; these classes studied primarily economics, using selected texts of Marx.

The most famous of the radical adult educators of the period was John MacLean. From 1905 he combined anti-capitalist and anti-war propaganda with lectures in
Marxian economics, possibly to the 'largest economics class in the world'. MacLean was a passionate believer in independent working-class education and an advocate of a Scottish Labour College that would be operated by the representatives of labour and with a curriculum reflecting workers' interests:

> I am firmly convinced that the workers must establish and maintain their own colleges to equip themselves for their own specific tasks as a class .... Multitudes of trained men will soon be more necessary than ever to assume positions on public bodies and carry on the fight there until the duties of these bodies are co-extensive with the the full industrial and social life of the whole community. The trade unions are irrevocably committed to political as well as industrial action, and necessarily the duty devolves on them of fitting men and women for political working-class activities.
>
> More and better working-class papers and magazines are needed, if the people are going to get facts instead of fiction, working-class instead of capitalist leading articles....the principal study ought to be Economics. At a Labour College economics must be taught fundamentally from the labour standpoint. Otherwise we ought to send our students to the capitalist universities. Our students must make the writings of Marx and marxian scholars the basis of their studies; otherwise the College becomes an expensive tragedy....

> The underlying motive in all the reorganisation and development of education is 'increased efficiency', and this capitalist phrase simply means better wage-slaves or better producers of commodities. The test of the value of education is its power of increasing output in the workshop, and consequently its power to add to that part of each year's total taken from the workers by the capitalists. Yet we would be foolish reactionaries to oppose schemes over which we as voters have a slight control - just as foolish as those who resist improved machinery and methods in the workshop. We, as socialists, must be intensely interested in improved education along technical and commercial lines, and it is our special business to see that all public, educational institutions be used for the creation of intelligent, class-conscious workers.
>
> In this respect we differ from the WEA, which simply has for its object the creation of intelligent workers. Personally, I wish to see all opportunities for self-development opened up to the working-class. But I am specially interested in such education as will make revolutionists.
>
> Such an education will not be given in our public schools, colleges and universities, if the capitalist class can prevent it. Part of the working-class fight must be for absolute control of all educational agencies; but in the meantime, the education of the workers themselves cannot be left in abeyance.

In 1917-18, courses run by the newly-established College and the Glasgow Plebs League had a combined total of 2,500 enrolled students in 36 classes. By 1920 there were more than 2,800 students attending 51 classes in Scotland, 30 of these being in Glasgow. Adult Education for the industrial working-class had a more militant character in Scotland during this period than in England and Wales. South of the border the 'moderate' Workers' Educational Association had been established in 1903 on the relatively secure base of central and local government grant-aid, whereas in Scotland the relatively few WEA tutorial classes that did exist were under the control of local school boards. The ideas of the University Settlement movement - education as a charitable vehicle for alleviating poverty - had taken root in England under Quaker influence which was largely absent to the north, although Edinburgh University Settlement was established in 1905.

The inter-war years

Summarizing the history of early adult education in Scotland, Marwick identified two interwoven tendencies:

> Institutions commencing with an aim chiefly, if not quite clearly cultural have become definitely vocational, and indeed illustrate the frequent difficulty of demarcating the two. Secondly, reliance on voluntary effort by those seeking education, supplemented by donations from the benevolent, has

given way to public maintenance, as the social expediency of their work became more evident.

Between the wars, then, we begin to see the emergence of an administrative framework for the provision of post-school education of various types. Local authorities, the universities and the voluntary bodies began to define their provision for various student populations. This period is characterised by the increasing separation of 'technical' and 'liberal' adult education and the somewhat haphazard development of regulations and arrangements by which the different agencies offered courses.

Under the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 local authorities were encouraged, but not required, 'to provide or secure the provision of post-school education' in other ways than by way of continuation classes. The Adult Education Regulations of 1924 applied only to England and Wales. Through these Regulations 'approved associations' such as universities, residential colleges and the WEA became eligible for exchequer grants and were accorded 'responsible body' status, giving them statutory powers as adult education providers. In Scotland, no arrangements for direct grants were made, and local authorities remained the providers and administrators of funds. It was not until the introduction of the Adult Education (Scotland) Regulations 1934 that liberal adult education services were removed from the Continuation Class Code. These Regulations empowered local authorities to co-operate with voluntary adult education bodies while retaining financial responsibility.

There was little planned development of technical and other vocational education during this period, but two broad levels of provision can be distinguished. Since 1901 Scottish Central Institutions had been responsible for higher technical education under the central financial administration of the Scottish Education Department. They taught higher grade technicians for industry on nationally recognised certificate and diploma courses. Technical and commercial colleges, on the other hand, offered preparatory and basic craft courses under the Continuation Class Code up to City and Guilds standard, usually by part-time or evening attendance.

Although Scottish universities were slower than their English counterparts to develop extra-mural classes, for reasons previously explained, extra-mural committees were set up at the Universities of Glasgow (1924), Aberdeen (1928) and Edinburgh (1929). In conjunction with the WEA and other voluntary bodies they thus became eligible to bid for a share of local authority finance.

An active branch of the WEA had been established in Edinburgh in 1913, but after the war its work in Scotland was relatively slow to develop. By 1926-7 there were 16 Scottish branches with a total of 818 individual members, the largest groups being in Aberdeen and Glasgow. Of the 30,000 WEA class enrolments in Great Britain in that year, less than 1800 of these were in Scotland. In contrast, the independent-minded and trade union-financed Scottish Labour College ran 65 classes for 2,200 students in 1921. In conjunction with the National Council of Labour Colleges it also ran correspondence courses

for workers.

In the 1920s and 1930s, adult educators in Scotland were becoming much more aware of the social and cultural significance of their work, though almost none had been trained as 'professionals'. For most, it remained a part-time adjunct of other types of teaching.

Two other important developments during this period were the formation of a Scottish branch of the British Institute of Adult Education in 1928 and the establishment of the first residential college of adult education in Scotland, at Newbattle Abbey, in 1937. On the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Scottish Branch of the British Institute, J R Peddie's speech at the annual conference in Dunblane depicted the important shifts in attitude that had occurred since 1928:

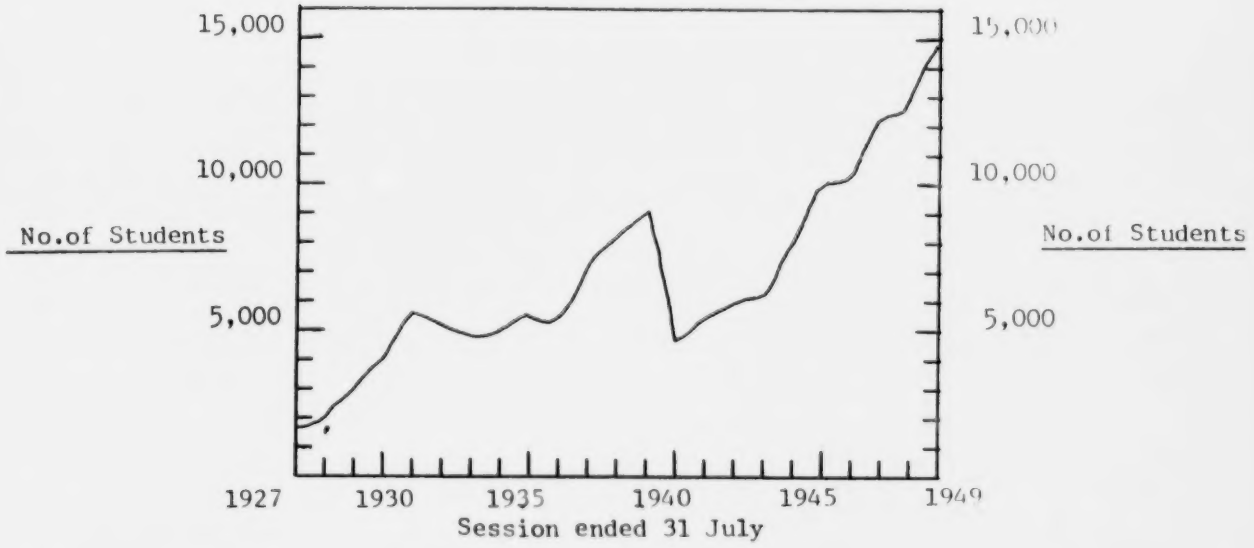
> I read a few days ago the Report of the Education Department on Education in Scotland in 1937. It contained a longish passage on adult education, and I could not but smile at the handsome nature of the remarks on Newbattle contained in that report when I considered the head shaking (my own head among them) that went on only a few years ago. I believe most firmly that the attitude of the Scottish Education Department on Adult Education exhibited in the Report to which I have just alluded is a fair reflection of a very considerable change of attitude in every educational quarter in Scotland, not least in the Universities themselves. When first after the War I related some of my experiences as a tutor in Adult Education to my friends among the lecturers at Glasgow University they thought that I was merely pulling their legs. When I went on to say that it was a more difficult thing to lecture to a WEA class than to an Honours class in a University they looked on me as a kind of outcast, a fellow who had lost his bearings. Their idea was that you simply went down and shot off a lecture and thereafter withstood for an hour a barrage of elementary questions and that was that. Well, I am convinced that that attitude has changed - changed fundamentally. There is no form of lecturing that so calls upon your powers, no form of questioning that makes you delve right down into the essentials of your own beliefs and tenets. I was a tutor in Literature. What would you say when after an hour's talk on Comedy in relation to Fielding, with incursions into Meredith, Congreve, Shakespeare, you were asked whether Fielding could ever have written under a Marxian form of government? Or what would you say when you were bluntly told that Fielding wasn't funny in the least?

But he also looked ahead to the need to develop adult education more fully:

> I put it to you for discussion to-night as to whether, in following a highly academic and severely intellectual ideal, we are not militating against a considerable development of Adult Education in a wider sense than we commonly conceive of it? Is the bridge, in fact, between continuation class

education as we know it in Scotland to-day completely formed, or must we be content to think that only the relatively few of our fellow-countrymen are naturally interested in the things of the mind or hand or eye? Furthermore, are we using our teaching power to the full? You cannot, I think, ask the University lecturer to do more than he is doing and, unless much greater funds become available than are at present at the disposal of the Universities, there is little likelihood of the development in Scotland of the system of extra-mural tutors which flourishes in some of the English Universities. But in all the secondary schools of Scotland you have honours graduates, many of whom would, I believe, welcome opportunities of work in Adult Education which they do not now get. I speak now not of the cities so much as the towns of varying size in Scotland where the secondary schools are situated. It ought, in my view, to be possible for the Universities to get into closer touch with these men and women for in them lies a source of great potentiality in the spread of Adult Education.

As the table below indicates, throughout this period there was a general expansion of participation, with the exception of a sharp decline during the Second World War:



(c) STUDENTS ATTENDING ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES, 1927-49

Source: (Scottish Education Dept., 1952)

Immediately before the Second World War, the pattern of provision and enrolments in various forms of adult education was as follows:

Central Institutions , financed directly by the Scottish Education Department, had 8,000 day students (3,000 of whom were part-time attenders) and 12,000 evening/correspondence students in 1937-8.

Continuation classes , under local authority auspices (including technical and commercial colleges), operated in 800 centres in Scotland and enrolled 162,000 students (80,000 of whom were aged 18+) in 1937-8. Total enrolments had been fairly constant over a ten-year period.

Adult Education Centres , operating classes conducted under the 1934 Regulations, enrolled 8,100 students in 1938 in 110 Centres offering a variety of 'liberal' educational subjects.

University Extra-Mural and WEA Classes . A survey carried out by the Scottish Branch of the British Institute of Adult Education in 1938-9 reported on a sample of 271 classes conducted by extra-mural education committees, local authorities and the WEA and discovered the distribution of classes to be distinctly localised, with two-thirds being conducted in the four large Scottish cities: Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen. Of the 4,200 students surveyed almost two-thirds were between the ages of 21 and 39, with 52% females, 48% males.

The distribution of subjects ranged over the liberal arts and the sciences:

Subject	1938-39	
	No.of Classes	Percentage of total
Aesthetics (includes Music, Art, Elocution, Drama and Public Speaking	52	19.2
Literature (English and Scottish)	32	11.8
Foreign Language and Literature	53	19.6
Biblical Literature	2	0.7
Philosophy	8	2.9
Psychology	31	11.5
History and Sociology (includes Citizenship and Government)	24	8.8
Economics	11	4.1
International and Current Affairs	15	5.5
Science	43	15.9
Miscellaneous	-	-
Totals:	271	100

SUBJECTS STUDIED IN ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES, 1938-39

Source: (British Institute of Adult Education, 1944)

Residential Centres . Newbattle Abbey was newly established and had 39 students in residence in 1938. Premises were requisitioned during the war, however, and classes were suspended.

There were also various types of informal education which emerged or grew during this period but which were statistically undocumented. For example, correspondence courses became increasingly popular. The BBC introduced group listening experiments for cultural progrrammes in the late 1920s and 1930s.

In 1942 the Scottish Education Department recommended local authorities to assume responsibilities for the youth service and to appoint local organisations to advisory youth councils. These were to become important foci of recreational, leisure-time and community education in the post-war era.

Although the growth of Scottish adult education during this period was relatively slow in British terms, there was a new variety and an increasing number of adults were being served. Student populations did fluctuate to some extent with economic conditions and declined later with the onset of war. With the return of peace in 1945, the prospects for the further development of adult education looked hopeful.

Chapter 2

POSTWAR DEVELOPMENTS TO THE 1970S

Without losing many of its unique aspects, Scotland has shared the broad developmental features of adult education since the war with those in England and Wales. These include the gradual professionalisation of many areas of practice so that there is now a growing core of recognised 'adult educators'; the expansion and increasing heterogeneity of both vocational and non-vocational provision; moves further to rationalise vocational certification and improve the recognition of occupational qualifications; and more recently the proliferation of experimental distance and modular learning systems.

In all these areas, some agencies and examining bodies have had a cross-border influence. The major factors in these developments have been legislative - governing the status and obligations of educational providers - and economic - involving the demands of the labour market, the cost-effectiveness of running classes, funding levels and grant arrangements. Both universal and particular influences have thus operated to determine the character of Scottish adult education.

Diversity in the Fifties

At the end of the war, according to Legge, there were less than 500 full-time teachers of adults in all sectors of education in Scotland and Northern Ireland. The first stimulus to growth was the Education (Scotland) Act 1945 which required local authorities 'to secure adequate and efficient provision' of all forms of further education, including 'organised cultural training and recreative activities'. Local authorities thus became statutory providers of adult education. The Act, however, was vague about what this constituted and how the new responsibilities were to be discharged by the local councils, who were left with a good deal of freedom.

A report on further education by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland in 1952 was an additional stimulus to closer co-operation between local authorities and the (then) four Scottish universities to become part of a national public system of further education. Full-time directors of extra-mural studies had been appointed at the Universities of Glasgow (1946) and Edinburgh (1949). The recommendations of the 1952 Report resulted in the extension of Scottish Education Department grant-aid to voluntary organisations engaged in the teaching of adults. Under the Further Education (Scotland) Regulations 1959 extra-mural committees representing the universities, local authorities and the WEA became eligible, as 'approved associations', for finance in respect of administrative costs, but not for teaching salaries, which continued to be met through local rates.

'Responsible body' status and a block grant were not made available to the Scottish universities or the WEA. This factor undoubtedly had some influence on the relatively slow growth of these agencies as providers of adult education in the fifties and sixties, compared to their English counterparts. Full-time professional staff were not appointed at Aberdeen University until 1956 or St Andrews until 1963, while the first local authority to employ a full-time ault education tutor was Fife in 1965.

The WEA in Scotland was divided into three districts (West, South-East and North) in 1947, but in the twenty-year period to 1965 the Scottish branch membership declined by 500 members. A working party on WEA structure, finance and staffing reported in 1966 that Scottish districts had been 'denied the prestige and independence as teaching, as well as organising, bodies, which the districts in England and Wales enjoy' through 'responsible body' status. It recommended that Scottish WEA students should have the same participation rights as those in the rest of the UK, but the position remained unaltered and was clearly seen as a factor in the decline in Scottish membership.

Despite this, by 1965 the number of WEA students had doubled since 1946, to some 20,000 who attended over 850 courses. Summer and weekend schools were also expanded, although Scottish districts complained that their ability to work in educational priority areas was hampered by the requirement to charge 'economic' fees and to remit these to local authorities who retained control of payment to tutors.

Two Scottish advisory bodies for adult and further education were established in 1949. The Scottish Institute of Adult Education became an independent body in recognition of the distinctive features of Scottish adult education with a remit to act as an information and documentation centre and to promote opportunities for the discussion of policy and practice among academics, statutory and voluntary bodies. It was financed by member local authorities and the Scottish Education Departrment, but did not have a full-time staff until the 1970s.

Five Regional Advisory Councils for Technical Education were also established in 1949 to plan vocational further education with an eye to local needs and to advise the minister. The Councils represented local authorities, technical college principals, employers and trade unions. Their work reflected the importance of maintaining a steady increase in the supply of skilled labour for postwar industrial recovery.

Even by 1952 there was considerable diversity in the provision of further education in Scotland. Among the agencies providing cultural, technical and vocational, social and recreational education in that year, the Advisory Council Report listed the following: universities, training colleges, technical colleges, trade schools, community centres, youth organisations, recreational and leisure organisations, public parks service, the BBC, cultural societies, churches, adult education bodies, voluntary associations, libraries and museums. In short, almost any facility which intentionally or incidentally

promoted learning was counted.

Expansion in the Sixties

There are no precise figures to indicate the extent of actual participation in adult education, except for enrolments in some of the more formal of these activities. But generally, the decades of the fifties and sixties were ones of gradual expansion on most fronts.

Total student enrolments in non-vocational further education in Scotland more than doubled in the twenty-year period 1952/3 - 1972/3 from 104,000 to almost 218,000. A breakdown of figures for 1972-73 shows the following:

Provider	Nos
Education authorities	189,000
University extra-mural depts	22,000
WEA	4,600
Central institutions	2,300

The most popular courses conducted under the auspices of the local education authority in 1972/3 were physical training, including dancing and keep fit; needlecraft; handicrafts and hobbies: these accounted for 75% of total enrolments. Of the courses run by extra-mural departments and the WEA, history, biological sciences and the visual arts together accounted for the largest proportion at 42%. In central institutions the visual arts dominated, attracting 75% of all students.

A series of case studies carried out for the Alexander Committee at this time gave a summary profile of students attending adult education classes as follows:

1 Women form a high proportion of the students;
2 There are few students aged below 25 but about a quarter are over 55;
3 A large proportion of the students are married;
4 Adult education students tend not to be 'mobile';
5 There is a marked degree of continuity of student participation, suggesting satisfaction to a considerable extent with the way classes are run;
6 There is an indication of a sizeable proportion, about a quarter on average, of students with further or higher educational qualifications;
7 Students as a whole have a relatively high socio-economic status;
8 The main motivating factors appear to be:
    a) special interest in a subject
    b) general cultural/educational interest

c) a wish to learn/make something useful for home life
d) a wish to use leisure time more positively
e) a wish for relaxation.

In 1959 a Consultative Council for Youth Service was appointed by the Secretary of State to promote youth and community services in Scotland. The 1959 Regulations facilitated local authority aid to voluntary youth and community groups to improve the centres used for recreational and social purposes, in conjunction with a national scheme of capital grants. A renamed body, the Standing Consultative Council on Youth and Community Service, was established in 1963 and had interests in informal educational activities generally. It advised the Secretary of State on the training of youth and community workers and established an information service.

The Education (Scotland) Act 1969 formally recognised the importance of leisure-time education and widened the definition of 'further education' in the 1945 Act. Education authorities were empowered to secure for their area 'the provision of adequate facilities for social, cultural, and recreative activities and for physical education and training' for the public generally, whether or not they were following organised courses of instruction in further education. In 1968, the Consultative Council published a report 'Community of Interests' which recommended strengthening the links between the youth service, leisure and recreational activities, and further education.

The training of full-time youth leaders and teachers in the youth and community service began in Edinburgh at Moray House College of Edinburgh in 1960 and in Glasgow at Jordanhill College of Education in 1964 to be followed by Aberdeen and Dundee colleges of education in 1971. 'Community Education' was gradually becoming professionalised through the award of 2-3 year diplomas or 1 year post-graduate certificates. Regional courses of in-service training in various aspects of further education were also developed.

At this time too, the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow instituted postgraduate MEd and Diploma in Adult Education courses. These qualifications were not in themselves licenses to teach adults, but did recognise their special teaching requirements, as well as stimulating research into the different educational needs of various constituencies.

By 1970, approximately 50 qualified youth and community leaders were being graduated per year, but only about a quarter of that number of specialist adult educators. Even five years later, the Alexander Report declared that there were 'only about 130 people for whom adult education is a major part of their full-time work' whereas over 500 people were then employed full-time by education authorities in the youth and community service.

Re-organisation in the Seventies

In 1975 the 35 Scottish city and county educational authorities that

had been responsible for the greatest share of leisure-time adult education classes were superseded by 9 Regional and 3 Island authorities in local government reorganisation. From now on vocational further education was to be based largely in the 63 colleges of technology, as well as in the 14 Central Institutions, directly responsible to the Scottish Education Department.

Non-vocational study, on the other hand, was to become school and community centre-based. But the difficulties in providing adequate accommodation of this kind for adult learners had already been shown by a 1961 survey of accommodation for adult education classes:

SURVEY OF RETURNS FROM ALL SCOTTISH LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

QUESTION	SUMMARY OF ANSWERS
I Day School Accommodation	
1 Classrooms	
(a) Is the Authority's provision of accommodation in classrooms?	Entirely ..... 5 Mainly ..... 25 Occasionally .. 5
(b) If so, are primary school classrooms used?	No ..... 15 Occasionally . 15 Frequently 5
(c) In any classroom use of this kind is stackable furniture of adult size installed temporarily?	No ..... 20 Usually ..... 8 Infrequently ...3
2 Other facilities	
(a) Are staffrooms used as lecture rooms?	No ..... 26 Occasionally .. 8 Frequently 1
(b) Is some use made of	
i) General Purpose Rooms?	Yes..... 22 No 13
ii) School Libraries?	Yes ..... 7 No 27
iii) School Halls?	Yes ..... 22 No 13
3 Special Accommodation	
(a) Has provision been made in any new school for special accommodation for adult use?	Yes ..... 7 No 28

(b) Is it proposed to make provision, under Regulation 5 of the School Premises (Standards and General Requirements) (Scotland) (Amendment No 2) Regulations, 1961 of special accommodation for adults?	Yes	6
	No	11
	Under consideration	15

4 Local Rules

(a) Is smoking permitted when day school provision is used?	Yes	14
	No	11
	In corridor ..	9
(b) Are facilities available for the service of tea and light refreshments?	Regularly ...	4
	Not usually ...	23
	On prior arrangement ...	6

II OTHER ACCOMMODATION

1 Community Centres

(a) Are community centres in use for classes, lectures, etc.?	Yes	15
	No	17
(b) Is it usual for these centres to have a comfortable room furnished as a lounge?	Yes	3
	No	20
(c) Has the Authority plans for the provision of additional community centres?	Yes	16
	No	16

2 County and Branch Libraries

(a) Do formal classes and/or informal discussion groups meet in branch or central library premises?	No	21
	Regularly	8
	Infrequently ..	5
(b) If so, is the accommodation furnished as a lounge?	Yes	2
	No	11

3 Hotels/Restaurants

(a) Is provision made for Extra-Mural classes to meet in hotels or restaurants?	Yes	14
	No	21
(b) If so, is it considered that the numbers attending have been added for that reason?	Yes	8
	No	6

4 Private Houses

(a) Do any of the Extra-Mural classes or Authority sponsored activities for adults meet in private houses?	Yes	.....	2
	No	.....	32
(b) If so, has this proved a suitable arrangement?	Yes	.....	2
	No	.....	-

III AD HOC PROVISION

Adult or Arts Centres

(a) Has the Authority provided or helped in the provision of adult or arts centres?	Yes	.....	11
	No	.....	23
(b) Are such centres much used for adult activities?	Yes	.....	12
	No	.....	5
(c) Has the Authority plans to provide any ad hoc centres of this kind?	Yes	.....	3
	No	.....	28

In 1979 a Scottish Council for Community Education (now the Scottish Community Education Council) was established to advise the Secretary of State on matters pertaining to community education generally, and to secure the co-operation and development of community education among statutory and voluntary organisations; its members were appointed by the Secretary of State, and it was serviced by a secretariat within the Scottish Education Department. A Community Education Centre was also established to provide a documentation and information service to promote the social benefits of 'community education' which was now seen as much more than youth work. Indeed, following the recommendations of the Alexander Committee, 'community education' became something of a late 1970s catch-phrase. As Legge has noted, 'a danger seen by several Scottish adult educators is that the better developed youth and community service might well dominate or even swallow up the rather weak adult education service.'

Formal education was also being re-organised. Following the 1969 report of the Haselgrave Committee, the Scottish Technician Education Council (SCOTEC) and the Scottish Business Education Council (SCOTBEC) were set up in 1973 and 1974 respectively to rationalise technician and business training. Gradually, SCOTEC and SCOTBEC courses began to replace HNC and City and Guilds qualifications. SCOTBEC also developed distance learning schemes of 'Directed Private Study' for those living far from colleges.

The five Regional Advisory Councils for Technical Education had been replaced by a single body, the Scottish Technical Education Consultative Council in 1959, with a national remit. Together with the Scottish Committee of the Central Training Council, set up under the Industrial Training Act 1964 , these were the postwar Scottish bodies responsible for developing a more coherent framework of vocational training to replace the ad hoc arrangements of the old works schools

and continuation classes. Apprentices and older trainees were now offered a better standard of either college-based or in-plant training. But the growth in local authority provision of part-time vocational education was relatively slow. Between 1966/7 and 1974/5, the numbers of adult students attending vocational classes rose only from 95,000 to 108,000.

A major growth area in Scottish adult education in the seventies was the provision of day-release courses for trade union representatives. The TUC (Scotland) Education Service had an established programme of weekend schools, day-release and evening classes catering for more than 1,300 students (shop stewards and worker representatives) in over 70 classes in 1973/4. In the five years from 1974/5 to 1979/80 both courses and enrolments increased by a factor of eleven; ninety percent of these courses were provided in further education colleges. Government grant-aid increased by a factor of four to 1.6 million in the same period, with the Scottish Education Department supplying small grants for administration to the Scottish Trade Union Congress and the WEA towards residential trade union studies. In 1976 Treesbank House, Kilmarnock, was opened as Scotland's first residential college of trade union education.

The Alexander Report

The terms of reference of the Committee chaired by Sir Kenneth Alexander, which reported in 1975, were 'to consider the aims appropriate to voluntary leisure time courses for adults which are educational but not specifically vocational, [and] to examine the extent to which these are being achieved ...'

The major recommendations of their report, Adult Education: the Challenge of Change were as follows:

(a) Statutory responsibility for adult education should continue to be vested solely in local education authorities, with the expectation that they would work towards the expansion of provision, aiming to double the number of students by the mid-1980s.

(b) Adult education should be viewed as an aspect of community education. A Scottish Council for Community Education should be established and charged with advising on, promoting and reviewing 'all matters relating to the voluntary leisure time education of adults'.

(c) Provision should be expanded for special groups, including young mothers, the elderly, immigrants, the handicapped, and those with literacy problems.

(d) 'In the development of resources, high priority should be given to the needs of areas of multiple deprivation' in conjunction with other public services.

(e) Flexible use should be made of existing school resources, at the same time ensuring that accommodation meets the needs of adults.

(f) A 'community development' and outreach approach is recommended to universities to widen the audience for their programmes.

(g) The WEA should concentrate its efforts on promoting the educational needs of the socially and educationally disadvantaged.

(h) To give Scotland proportionate equality with England and Wales, fifty extra full-time adult education teachers are immediately needed. A total of 200 additional full-time staff is a recommended target for the next five years. Education authorities should make training facilities available, for part-time staff.

(i) Grants for developmental purposes should be available to 'approved associations' and other voluntary bodies promoting adult educational objectives.

(j) 'The present general practice of charging fees ... should not be discontinued' but there should be fee remission in 'special circumstances' and a complete waiver for the disadvantaged and pensioners.

The Alexander Committee sat during a period in which the growth of postwar affluence came to an end. It was expected to inform the responses of Scottish adult education services to the challenges of the expansion of leisure, rapid technological changes, and a growing desire for increased public participation in decision-making. It also had to take into account the background of very low overall participation rates in any one year in formal adult education classes. The Committee estimated that the rate for Scotland was 4% of all adults and only 0.2% in the three lowest socio-economic categories.

At the Annual Conference of the Scottish Institute of Adult Education at Stirling in 1975 the Alexander Report received a very mixed welcome, as may be seen from the notes from discussions below:

> The report is not about Scottish adult education. It does not set out what would be reasonable guidelines for Scotland. (T.E.M.Landsborough)
>
> TUC education has now moved away from the industrial teaching aspect. More thought is needed about trade union education. (R Lochrie)
>
> People in local education authorities must have a radical change of mind. (C Kirkwood)
>
> Broadcasting can play a large part in adult education. Broadcasting has an outreach. Many people like being educated at home. The section on broadcasting is very poor. (B Groombridge)
>
> The more we can de-school our education the better the community. (H A Jones)
>
> We should have doubts about the use of the word 'community'.

Community is an aerosol term and we use it to spray on nasty situations. (C Rochester)

The Department gives extensive grants to some forty national organisations for administration but not for teaching. Local units should make application not to SED but to local authorities. (J Kidd)

Most curators of local museums are educationalists who are in favour of lending exhibits. When local groups visit museums the curator mostly makes an effort to meet them to try to create a local link with the community. (M Norgate)

If corporate management really develops properly among officials and members perhaps things may move faster. Everybody should begin to look at the whole picture. This demands a change of heart of staffs. There is an enormous educational exercise to be done. It depends on relationships. (E Carnegy)

We need a proper definition of community education. Surely we should have folk-schools where people could educate themselves. (M Kelly)

Adult education is a fortress education with labels like professionalism, training centres, capital resources, corporate management, school councils, community colleges. If you can't use these things when provided you can't get community education. (P J Stubbings)

It is obvious that there is a swing of public opinion - world wide - against being governed. It would appear, therefore, that the regionalisation of local government and the kind of structure required to support the Alexander proposals for community education are out of joint with the times. Society grows and changes from the bottom, not from the top, and we have to indulge communities with some of their own money to start finding their own way. (T.E.M.Landsborough)

The Carnegy Report

A Working Party on Professional Training for Community Education, chaired by the Baroness Carnegy, was set up in 1975 to consider the training implications of the Alexander Report and its proposals for the development of a community education service in Scotland. The Carnegy Report, Professional Education and Training for Community Education , was published in 1977. Although the report has not been implemented, many of its ideals remain important for the way in which they have informed the future development of community education in Scotland.

The Report recognised that an evolving community education service would have to carry many of the burdens of economic depression and social stress, but that if properly instituted and professionally run

it could help to secure both individual and social needs in their most appropriate settings. The report proposed an eventual all-graduate entry into a community education profession and identified four broad categories of 'community educator':

Category I - including 'front-line' tutors, community workers and neighbourhood activists;

Category II - including local organisers, wardens of education/youth centres with some management responsibilities;

Category III- including those having specialist advisory or support functions, such as training/research officers, staff tutors, area organisers;

Category IV - including those responsible for administration and policy, such as regional and district education officers, extra-mural directors, heads of national voluntary organisations.

A common core of required knowledge and skills was identified, together with particular knowledge and skills for each of the four categories:

Knowledge and Skills Required by all Categories

We have sought to identify the knowledge and skills which each of the categories of staff requires. From our study, certain areas of knowledge and skills emerge as necessary parts of the professional equipment of the great majority of community education workers in all categories. We refer to these later as 'the common core;' and though we list them separately below, we would emphasise that knowledge and skills, theory and practice, should be closely integrated.

Knowledge

Educational Theory and Practice, with particular reference to community education.
Psychology of Human Growth and Development in a social context.
Sociological Theories and Concepts, particularly those relating to the nature of communities, organisations, and groups.
Social Policy and Administration, including relevant law, safety and insurance requirements, and principles of corporate management.
Community work.
Group Work.
Political Science, especially in respect of the inter-relationship of social policies and community action.
Growth and significance of leisure.

Skills

Promoting inter-personal relationships; stimulating and

supporting individual and group initiatives; use of survey methods; identifying and analysing needs; securing and programming the use of resources; financial management; planning and organising action; counselling; tutoring; supervising; supporting and training staff, part-time and/or full-time; recording and reporting; use of publicity methods.

Workers in certain categories in Category III and in posts in Category IV may not directly or regularly employ all the skills listed but the possession of them will greatly facilitate and often be crucial to satisfactory performance in these posts.

Particular Knowledge and Skills

The areas of knowledge and skills identified as peculiar to particular posts within individual categories are as follows:

Category I
-- basic management, administrative and committee procedures
-- formal education structures, objectives and procedures
-- work with a particular age group
-- a particular academic subject or group of subjects
-- community development and welfare rights
-- conflict, confrontation and protest;

Category II
-- staff management, support and training
-- institutional management procedures and skills
-- aims, structures and procedures of voluntary organisations
-- teaching methods and skills;

Category III
-- planning, organisation and evaluation of training
-- training methods and aids
-- teaching skills
-- specialised knowledge of a subject or skill in an activity
-- stimulation or 'animation'
-- educational technology
-- storage and retrieval of information
-- preparation of summaries and construction of aids
-- research methods and techniques

Category IV
-- advanced knowledge of scope and potentialities of community education (or an aspect of it); objectives, structures and practices of related services and agencies; nature and functioning of local and national government, political processes and social policies
-- advanced skills in management of staff and resources, corporate management, preparation of analyses and reports, preparation of objectives, plans and programmes.

In the years following, however, the Carnegy Report was not

implemented, and the development of adult education in Scotland took a number of unexpected turns. In some cases - as with the BBC's Adult Literacy Project - an impetus from outside initiated far-reaching changes of emphases and provision, although here as elsewhere, a Scottish flavour is apparent. At other times, as in developments in open learning, the initiative arose from situations created by the geographical characteristics of Scotland. The years that followed the Alexander and the Carnegy Reports were to be ones of experimentation with new approaches to educating adults, but also of threat to more traditional forms of provision.

Chapter 3

RECENT EXPERIMENTATION

During the years following the Alexander Report, traditional adult education in Scotland has undergone dramatic changes. There appears to be a sharp decline in participation in adult education classes, while innovative projects have multiplied, and adult participation in formal education has increased.

Recent Trends in Scottish Adult Education

Working with Scottish Education Department statistics, Horobin has devised an approximate 'Index of Adult Education' to examine recent changes in educational activity. He has tried to resolve the problem that crude enrolment figures alone do not entirely measure the extent of adult participation, since they do not take account of the duration of courses. Attendance rates are also significant; where known, these have varied only slightly between three-quarters and four-fifths of actual enrolments over the period of study, however, and have therefore been discounted. The index is given by:

$$\frac{\text{Sum of (Adult Enrolment x Duration of Course)}}{\text{Total Adult Population}} \times 100$$

Although the index is not a precise pointer to actual participation rates, it is a surer guide to trends than the raw statistics. As Figure I on p. 30 shows, during the period 1972-76 involvement in non-vocational classes grew by some 45,000 enrolments, while the index climbed by more than two points. Most of this rise took place in the first two years, with a gradual levelling off thereafter.

But a dramatric decline occurred in 1976-77 of some 75-80,000 class enrolments, which then held relatively steady at two-thirds of their peak levels for the next three years. A further decline of more than 20,000 occurred in 1980-81, the last year for which statistics were available. Since 1976, then, the index has dropped by five points. Ironically, the effect of central and local government cuts in expenditure has been most severe on Scottish adult education in these years immediately following the Alexander Report's recommendation of expansion.

Most of the decline, as Horobin shows, is attributable to local authority class enrolments -- a 48% decline is matched by one of 9% for universities and 38% for the WEA, both from a much smaller base. Central Institutions actually experienced an increase over the period of 13%. One consequence of these disproportionate trends has been that the overall share of the three smallest sectors has actually increased from about one-eighth to one-third of all enrolments in non-vocational classes.

How have the different subject areas and lengths of courses fared?

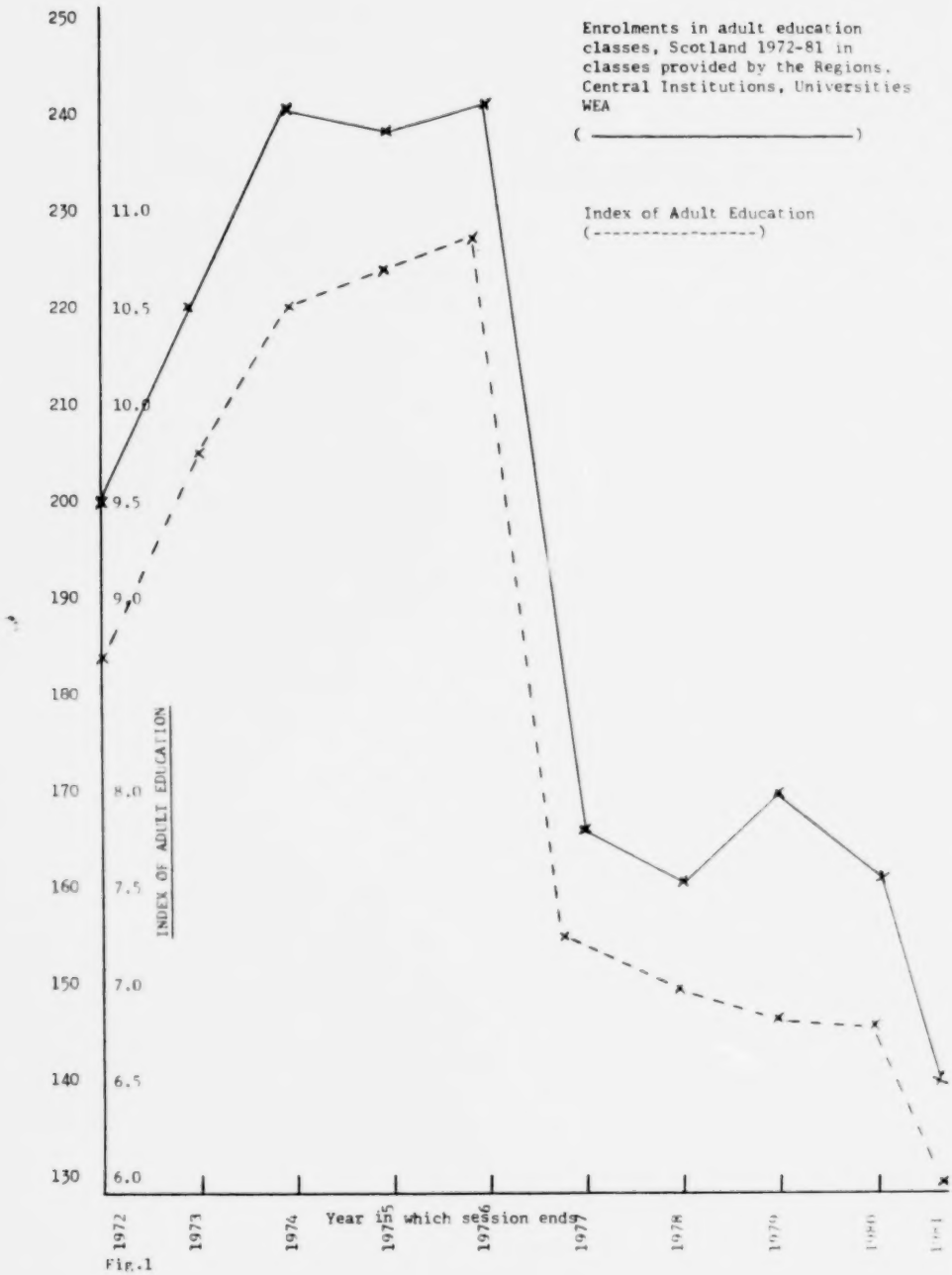


Fig.1

Regional provision for practical subjects, such as cookery and handicrafts, declined by over 20% between 1976 and 1981, with a proportionate increase in involvement in physical activities, such as keep fit and sports, and in arts subjects of between 6% and 10%. The major change in the enrolment pattern for university and WEA courses has been a decline of 6% in science subjects between 1976 and 1981.

Perhaps significantly, 'other subjects' difficult to classify but likely to include new developments such as multi-disciplinary courses have experienced a relative increase in enrolments of about 10% over

this period. Perhaps the only consistent growth area since 1975, however, has been in adult literacy, where there has been a significant expansion from a very small base in local authority, university and WEA provision.

During this period, enrolments in one, two and three-term courses have been affected differently. Two-term courses have been on a steady decline since 1976 at the expense of shorter courses; enrolments in longer courses, however, have been somewhat steadier. The relative attractiveness of the shorter, cheaper course has been noticeably increased.

Most recent indicators suggest that the decline in traditional informal courses has not been arrested. As Horobin notes, however, 'there is more to adult education in Scotland than is revealed in these figures.'

In the field of open learning, there has been a striking leap in the number of courses in the annual Directory of Open Learning Opportunities in Scotland : in 1980 there were 43 such courses listed; in 1984 there are over 350. The diversity of provision by such institutions as the Open University and the Manpower Services Commission, not statistically recorded in a comparable way to the Scottish Education Department figures, almost certainly underestimates the totality of participation. Finally, the substantial development of 'out-reach' programmes has meant that much real learning may be taking place in ways that are not statistically recorded. In many areas, then, adult education may be at least holding its own.

Vocational Education and the MSC in Scotland

The nature of vocational further education in Scotland has changed dramatically in recent years. Between 1973 and 1982, total enrolment increased overall by only 4.3% to 171,500. But there have been important shifts in modes of attendance, subjects studied, and levels of qualifications sought.

The part-time, non-advanced sector has experienced a decrease of some 34,000 students in ten years to three-quarters of its 1973 levels. Most of this loss can be attributed to the demise of the apprenticeship system with the collapse of large-scale manufacturing industry, the traditional supplier of day-release students to technical colleges.

Part of this loss has been made up by colleges both increasing their full-time enrolments and offering more advanced courses. The proportion of full-time attenders has increased from 8% of the non-advanced total in 1973 to 21% in 1982, when some 33,000 students were studying for advanced qualifications such as SCOTEC and SCOTBEC Higher National Certificate or Higher National Diploma courses compared to only 12,000 ten years earlier. Central Institutions have increased their enrolments by 45% overall, most of this being accounted for by students on full-time advanced level courses who numbered more than 14,000 in 1982.

The typical further education colleges course is still of a non-advanced, part-time variety, but this is rather less so than in the past. Part-time non-advanced engineering and technology courses have suffered the greatest decline (26%), but enrolments in more advanced engineering courses have increased to over 11,000. Social, administration, and business studies subjects have seen the major gains at all levels and modes of attendance, reflecting the changes in the occupational composition of the labour force during this period.

The agency that may determine the future shape of much vocational education in Scotland is the Manpower Services Commission, although its operations are governed largely by labour market considerations and training resources have been concentrated on school-leavers. The new Youth Training Scheme (YTS) is the largest by far, yet it is only one component of a 'New Training Initiative'.

The proposed implementation of an 'Adult Training Strategy', however, has met with some criticism in adult education circles in Scotland, as may been seen from the response given by the Scottish Institute of Adult Education to the MSC Discussion Paper 'Towards an Adult Training Strategy':

a) Any new Adult Training Strategy must be capable of providing appropriate training opportunities for the whole of the labour force, whether in or out of paid employment at any given time.

b) To avoid exacerbating the present tendency towards the creation of two nations, at least as much priority must be given to the training needs of those adults currently lacking general education and basic skills as to the more able and adaptable.

c) Any policy that concentrates training resources on 'buoyant areas' and on those who are already skilled or well-qualified will be a policy that discriminates against Scotland.

d) If we are to get to grips with those factors affecting our inadequate economic performance which relate to questions of poor motivation and low levels of aspiration, it will be necessary to couple specific competence-based skill training with a broad 'whole-man' approach to learning.

e) A training strategy geared to the promotion of potential areas of growth must give high priority to the service and leisure sectors (including education) as well as to the new technologies.

f) Whilst employers (and trade unions) have an important contribution to make to any training strategy, it would be totally unrealistic to rely on their efforts alone, on the forces of the market place and on the processes of collective bargaining for the comprehensive range of training now

required. However, both employers and trade unions might consider their responsibility for promoting a more positive attitude towards the take-up of wider education and training opportunities on the part of their members (and might care to study the role of the workplace educational counsellors in a country like Sweden).

g) Given the desirability of collaboration and the need for cross-fertilisation between the education and training sectors, the MSC should not attempt to take too many of the new initiatives on its own. Through its control of purse strings, it is in any case in a strong position to exercise maximum leverage over the direction of development.

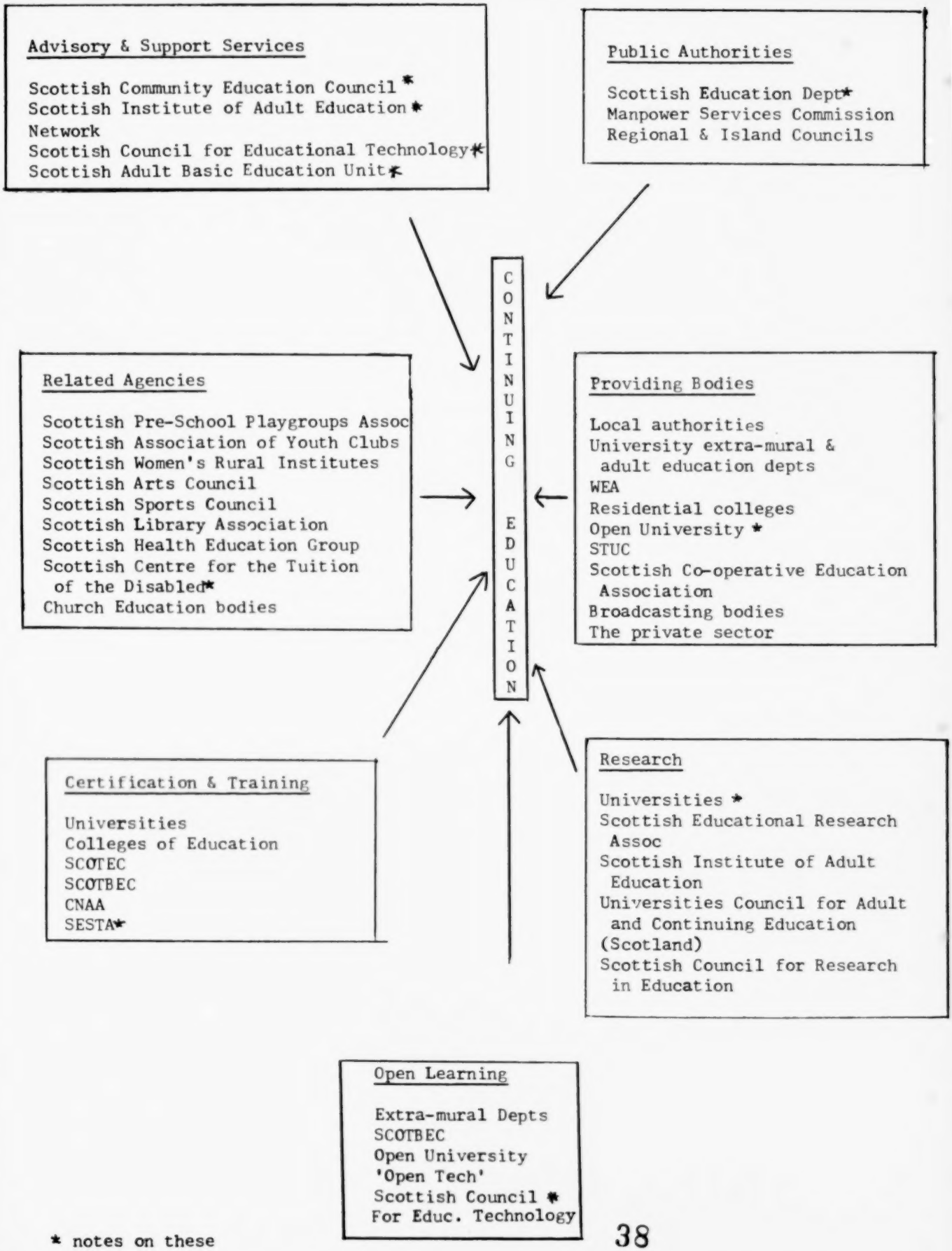
h) Scotland requires a coherent overall policy for adult education and training. The reluctance of government to develop such a policy must be overcome -- and soon. We have already paid too high a price for the past neglect of our human resources. Who is looking at the particular needs of Scotland?

Currently, the major input into adult training remains the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS). In recent years, there has been a decline in TOPS completions in Scotland from 9,400 in 1979/80 to 7,200 in 1982/83. It is planned to reduce clerical, machine tool and some managerial courses and to place more emphasis within a maintained TOPS on work preparation courses. Skillcentre provision of TOPS training has increased slightly, at the expense of courses based in further education colleges.

Examples of Present Provision

The current arrangement of continuing education provision in Scotland may best be described as 'transitional'. Precise demarcations are impossible to draw. In the localised non-vocational sector, financed and largely controlled by the 12 Regional and Island Education Authorities, most services have been adapted to the general philosophy of 'community education': many elements of a non-formal, traditional adult education sector are integrated with youth and community work practices, leisure, recreation and social work services. At a national level, the Manpower Services Commission has become increasingly involved in the provision of vocational education, both as a sponsor of college-based training and as a direct provider. This involvement is likely to intensify as a result of the 'New Training Initiative' and the White Paper, 'Training for Jobs'.

The current structure of continuing education in Scotland is shown in the diagram on the next page. It is not possible to describe the work of all these bodies in detail here; sources for further reading are given later. Many of the agencies listed have overlapping remits and personnel, and it is their collective efforts which have determined the complex characteristics of provision. Brief notes on a few of these bodies are provided below to illustrate the diverse nature of



* notes on these in text

their contribution.

The Scottish Education Department is not a direct provider of educational services to adults, but it is empowered to give grants under the Further Education (Scotland) Regulations 1959 to voluntary organisations active in Scottish adult education. In the past, the major beneficiaries in respect of administrative costs have been the university extra-mural committees, the WEA, and a range of other associations including the Scottish Institute of Adult Education and the Scottish Community Education Council. Newbattle Abbey receives a substantial sum for running costs. The Scottish Education Department Inspectorate has responsibilities over a range of adult education activities, and the Department is both a direct and a conjoint sponsor of educational research.

The Scottish Institute of Adult Education in the only non-governmental body in Scotland which is concerned with the education of adults in its widest sense. It operates as an information and documentation centre, produces publications, encourages new initiatives, promotes innovative projects, organises conferences and engages in training activities. Until very recently it was responsible for the Scottish Adult Basic Education Unit and for Network.

The Scottish Adult Basic Education Unit , formerly the Scottish Adult Literacy Agency, was established in 1980 with an advisory and support role, developing a responsive approach to adult basic educational needs. These needs are defined in a much broader sense than just literacy and numeracy; they encompass communication and personal managing skills as a bridge to wider participation in both further education and other areas of life. With a grant from the Scottish Education Department of 140,000 in 1983, it supported the activities of over 4,000 working tutors (most of them voluntary) and about 17,000 students throughout Scotland. Since 1983 the Unit has become attached to the Scottish Community Education Council.

The Scottish Community Education Council , a successor to the Scottish Council for Community Education, was established in 1982 by the Secretary of State for Scotland to advise him on all aspects of community education. Unlike its predecessor, the Council has an independent secretariat and incorporates the activities and resources of the former Scottish Community Education Centre.

The South East Scotland Training Asociation (SESTA) is a group training association based on Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh. It offers training facilities to part-time community eduicators throughout Lothian and the Borders Regions. In 1981/82 it reported 480 successful trainees, studying a variety of modular courses such as group work and counselling for the Certificate in Neighbourhood Work. SESTA has also developed learning materials for use by other local authorities.

The Scottish Centre for the Tuition of the Disabled , originally part of Edinburgh University Settlement but now based at Queen Margaret College, operates nine regional services from Dumfries and Galloway to Grampian. It provides support for the adult disabled to participate

where possible in mainstream adult education activities. SCTD is involved in negotiating both physical and psychological barriers to access, and its home tutor services have taken advantage of flexistudy and open learning methods. During the first four years of its operation SCTD assisted over 500 disabled adults, and the numbers continue to increase.

The Scottish Council for Educational Technology (SCET) is particularly concerned with the development of distance learning materials and flexible schemes of study. In general, it promotes and advises on the adoption of new educational technologies, delivery systems, and the expansion of 'open learning' opportunities. Its Open Learning Project has encouraged the development of modular course materials and resource banks in the college sector, and SCET has co-operated with a number of other bodies to produce an annual Directory of Open Learning Materials in Scotland . It is the base for the Scottish Community Education Microelectronics Programme, an experimental attempt to promote adults learning by and about computers. It has recently become the servicing agency for the semi-autonomous Scottish Committee on Open Learning, which hopes to co-ordinate activities in this rapidly developing field.

The Open University in Scotland , while structurally one of the 13 Open University Regions in the United Kingdom, has in practice been developing a certain amount of freedom necessary to meet the special needs of Scottish students. For obvious geographical reasons it has been in the forefront of Open University developments in improving learning resources for the more remote students, particularly in the area of telephone tuition. Differences between the Scottish and the English legal and educational systems affect the content of many Open University courses and may involve Open University staff in Scotland in course production. Through the developing Continuing Education sector especially, an increasing amount of course material now originates in Scotland or is adapted for local needs. There are currently over 5,000 undergraduates and about 500 Associate students in Scotland, supported by a network of 36 local centres, about 450 part-time tutors and counsellors, and about 50 full-time staff based in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Research

Research in adult education in Scotland has undergone important changes of late. Until relatively recently, academic journals devoted to adult education had been dominated by descriptive case studies of class participation which hardly amounted to replicable scientific research. One signal of recent change is that now many university extra-mural departments are also adult education departments, with research activities playing a complimentary role to provision.

Other institutions have also shown a burgeoning interest in research into adult education. In 1982 the Scottish Educational Research Association had as its Conference theme 'Research and Development in Continuing Education in Scotland'. The Scottish Institute of Adult Education has established a Publications and Research Committee which,

among other matters, promotes reports on investigations into Scottish adult education through a Monograph series in conjunction with the Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education (Scotland). Recent studies have included work on adult participation in higher and further education and an investigation into the educational needs of the adult unemployed.

In 1983 the Scottish Council for Research in Education completed its study of adult students in schools, an area in which there has been considerable recent growth in Scotland. In 1984 researchers at the University of Edinburgh published an extensive survey and analysis of community education provision in three Regions of Scotland. On a lesser scale, the Scottish Institute of Adult Education is conducting a survey of how institutions and organisations have responded over nearly a decade to the recommendations of the Alexander Report.

Future Prospects

Adult education in Scotland today presents very diverse faces. The trend in participation in informal adult education classes continues apparently inexorably downwards throughout the country as a whole, although the degree of decline varies dramatically from Region to Region.

At the same time, there has been an overall increase in adult participation in all sectors of formal education, ranging from schools to universities. There has been an upsurge of courses designed to re-introduce adults - particularly women - to the demands and the delights of serious study. There have also been important innovations in open learning defined in its broadest sense: 'out-reach' work is thriving in many areas; Scotland appears to be leading the way in the development of computer-based adult learning; and there are more and more courses available through distance learning.

New systems of education for young people in Scotland - including the 16-18 Action Plan and the Standard Grade examinations - will in turn bring new possibilities and new problems to adult educators. The growing strength of the Manpower Services Commission too is changing the picture of provision significantly.

Adult education in Scotland today thus offers prospects of hope, with sometimes powerful undercurrents of anxiety and frustration. Current possibilities under discussion include the expansion of educational information services for adults, an enlarged role for the public libraries, and a steady pressure towards the privitisation of adult education. Readers who wish to look further into the future may now want to speculate on the developments covered in the following section on further reading.

FURTHER READING

The following offer general descriptions of aspects of Scottish practices, within an overall British context and with useful points of comparison:

B. Jennings, Adult Education in Britain: Its Organisation and Structure (Newlands Papers No 3, University of Hull, 1981)

D. Legge, The Education of Adults in Britain (Open University Press, 1982)

T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Britain (Liverpool University Press, 1970).

A general and somewhat dated accouint of further education is given in:

S.L. Hunter, The Scottish Educational System (Oxford, 1968).

On the history of adult education movements up to 1945, see Kelly and also the following:

British Institute of Adult Education, The Handbook and Directory of Adult Education, 1928-9 (London, 1929)

British Institute of Adult Education (Scottish Branch), Survey of Adult Education in Scotland, 1938-9 (Edinburgh, 1944)

J. A. Cable, 'The Early History of Scottish Popular Science', Studies in Adult Education , Vol 4, No 1 (April, 1972)

J. A. Cable, 'Studies in Early Scottish Adult Education: A Commentary', Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 1, No 2 (Spring, 1974)

J. W. Hudson, The History of Adult Education (London, 1851)

J. P. M. Millar, The Labour College Movement (NCLC, London, n.d.)

J. R. Peddie, 'Adult Education in Scotland since the War', Adult Education , Vol 10, No 4 (June, 1938)

Scottish Education Department, Education (Scotland) Reports 1939

Scottish Education Department, Further Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1952)

Scottish Education Department, Adult Education: The Challenge of Change (The Alexander Report) (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1975)

J. G. S. Shearer, 'The Universities and Adult Education in Scotland', Studies in Adult Education , Vol 1, No 2 (October, 1969)

B. Simon, Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920 (London, 1974).

The Alexander Report is a most valuable and convenient source of general statistics for the late 1960s and early 1970s, but see also the following:

J. C. Horobin, Community Education Statistics: A Report (Scottish Council for Community Education, 1980)

J. C. Horobin, 'Adult Education in Scotland from 1968 to 1978', Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 4, No 4 (Spring, 1980)

J. C. Horobin, 'Adult Education in Scotland from 1976 to 1981, Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 6, No 1 (Spring, 1983).

For statistics on vocational education, the role of the MSC and future plans for Scotland, see:

Scottish Education Department, Scottish Education Statistics (various years)

Scottish Education Department, 'Autumn Enrolments in Vocational Further Education', S.E.D. Statistical Bulletin , April, 1982

HMSO, Education Statistics for the U.K. 1982

HMSO, 'Training for Jobs', White Paper, 1984

MSC, Annual Report 1982

MSC, Plan for Scotland 1983-7 .

Aspects of Scottish trade union and workers' education are discussed in the following:

C. G. Hely, 'Trade Union Education and Training in Scotland', Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 2, No 2 (Spring, 1976)

S. Henderson, 'Trade Union Education in Scotland: Problems and Potential', Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 3, No 2 (Spring, 1978)

J. Leopold, 'Trade Union Education and Trade Union Tutors in Scotland, Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 5, No 3 (Autumn, 1981)

Scottish Education Department, Trade Union Congress (TUC) Courses in Further Education Colleges in Scotland: A Report (n.d.)

Workers' Educational Association, Working Party on Structure, Organisation, Finance and Staffing (London, 1966). Chapter 9 deals with Scotland.

An account of the work of Newbattle Abbey is provided by:

A. Reid, 'Newbattle: Scotland's Residential Adult College', Scottish Journal of Adult Education , Vol 4, No 1 (Autumn, 1978).

Community education in Scotland is promoted by SCAN , a monthly newspaper for the profession, published by SCEC. The Scottish Community Education Council also produces annual reports and discussion papers.

For adult literacy and basic education in Scotland, there are two comprehensive sources:

Scottish Education Department, Adult Literacy in Scotland (HMSO, 1980)

Scottish Adult Basic Education Unit, Annual Reports (various years).

On the ideas and implementation of 'open learning' in Scotland, see:

N. Paine, 'Open Learning: The Issues for Further Education Colleges in Scotland', Journal for Further and Higher Education in Scotland , Vol 7, No 2 (May, 1983)

SCET, A Directory of Open Learning Opportunities in Scotland, 1984 .

For an account of the development of Network, the Scottish broadcasting support and educational information service, which has grown dramatically over the past few years, see :

V. Smith, History of Network (draft title), to be published by SIAE, 1985.

For general coverage of developments in adult education in Scotland, see the Scottish Journal of Adult Education , published by SIAE.